X V.5
1509/1488

THE

CONTRAST,

A

POLITICAL PASTICCIO;

WITH

RECITATIVE, CANTATAS, &c.

Chaunted, with VARIATIONS, in the Opera-Houſe of St. STEPHEN,

BY

SIGNOR CARLO REYNARDO, &c.

THE THIRD EDITION.

What makes a doubtful queſtion clear?
Why juſt five hundred pounds a year.
What makes that falſe prov'd true before?
The anſwer's plain—Five hundred more.

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M,DCC,LXXXIV.

BRITISH LEGATION MUSCAT
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CONTENTS.

Page.

INTRODUCTION - - 1

EAST-INDIA AFFAIRS - - 19

Lord J---n C--v--h's ſpeech againſt veſting the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company in parliament - - ibid.

Mr. B—ke againſt the infringement of the company's charter - - 20

——— againſt breaking the national faith in an invaſion of the rights of the Eaſt-India Company - - 21

Mr. B—ke in ſupport of Mr. F—x's India bill - - - 22

Lord J—n C—v—h for the abrogation of the company's charter - - 23

Mr. B---ke ſpeaks againſt the crown taking into its hands the territorial acquiſitions of the company - 24

Mr.

CONTENTS.

Page.

Mr. B—ke charges miniſters with a deſign of ſeizing on that by rapine and plunder, to which they had no title - 25
Mr. B—ke's opinion of Crown Lawyers ibid.
Mr. F—x againſt the violation of the company's charter - - 26
——— *againſt taking away the appointment of its ſervants from the company* - - - 27
——— *charges the miniſter with a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of the patronage of the Eaſt-India Company* - 28
Mr. B—ke reprobates the wicked projects of the miniſter - - ibid.
Mr. F—x on the influence that a miniſter may derive from the patronage of the Eaſt - - - 29
COALITION ACADEMY OF COMPLIMENTS - - - ibid.
Mr. B—ke's picture of his noble friend in the blue ribband, as he ſat for it in 1774 - - - ibid.
Mr. F—x's unredeemed pledge - 30
Conſiſtency of the premier illuſtrated by Mr. B—ke - - - 31

Mr.

CONTENTS.

Page.

Mr. F—x finds fault with the miniſter for expoſing our weakneſs to the enemy - - - - 32

Mr. F—x's declaration of the wretched condition of our navy, army and finances after he was made ſecretary of ſtate - - - 33

Wonderful increaſe of our naval force in ten months - - - 34

Cheats of the premier - - 35

Shuffling of the premier - 36

Mr. B—ke's panegyric on Lord S--dw--ch 37

How far a miniſter's word of honour may be taken - - - ibid.

Mr. B—ke againſt corruption - 38

Mr B—ke's virtue in danger - ibid.

Arrogance of the premier expoſed, with his retort - - - 39

Ignorance and falſhood of the premier ibid.

Mr. B—ke's motion for the impeachment of the premier, and Lord J——n C—v—ſh's declaration of laſting reſentment - - - 40

Mutual abjurations of a coalition - ibid.

Lord N—h's recantation - 42

Mr.

CONTENTS.

Page.

Mr. F--x inſiſts that members ſhould conform to the ſentiments of their conſtituents - - - 44

Per contra, *that a member of parliament is to act according to his own ideas* ibid.

Mr. B—ke's ridicule on FRITTERED OECONOMY - - - 45

Mr. F--x alarmed, leſt it ſhould be Lord Sh—lb—rne's deſign to bring Lord N—th once more into the cabinet - 46

Mr. F—x on majorities of the Houſe of Commons - - - 47

Mr. F—x on the influence of the crown ibid.

Mr. F—x's idea of the rights of the people - - - - 48

Lord N—th and Mr. F—x on ariſtocracy - - - - 49

Picture of coalition friendſhip - ibid.

Laſt dying ſpeech and confeſſion of Mr. F—x and his confederates - 50

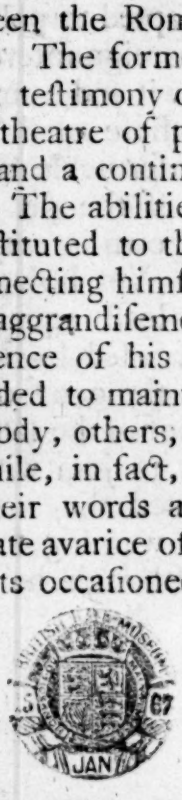
BRITISH MUSEUM 15 87 JAN

THE CONTRAST, &c.

IT will be commemorated in the page of hiſtory, and our poſterity will conſider with admiration, to what a pitch of grandeur the empire of Great Britain had been elevated, in the courſe of a few years government, by a miniſter, whoſe abilities were peculiarly adapted to politics; who managed the domeſtic and foreign intereſts of the ſtate with an infinite fund of wit and humour, and who either by the charms of theſe qualifications, or elſe by ſome hidden and inſcrutable myſtery, contrived to lead the majority of the people, who are oftentimes blind to their own intereſt, into his wiſe and ſalutary meaſures. Yet however great his abilities, they were at leaſt equalled by his ſucceſs; and both were exceeded by his unparalled integrity and zeal for the good of his ſovereign and country. As a proof of the latter, it will be urged, that he was ready to join with men, whoſe characters he reprobated the moſt, rather than his ſervices ſhould be wanting to the ſtate: and of the former, that although he did not add much

territory to the dominions of his ſovereign, but rather contracted their bounds; wiſely judging, like Auguſtus, that the force of a kingdom conſiſts more in compactneſs than in extent, yet that he improved the trade, population, and revenue of the moſt diſtant dependencies of the empire, called forth the reſources of his country, gave freedom, power and grandeur to her colonies, and increaſed her credit by augmenting her funded ſtock to the amount of above one hundred millions ſterling. In fine, the hiſtorian probably will add, that by the exertions of this miniſter and his colleagues, the Britiſh name was crowned with a luſtre, unknown in any former period, ſo as almoſt to obſcure the glory of the Roman.

Yet I cannot but remark, that theſe compariſons between the preſent condition of Britain and that of antient Rome are ſomewhat like the Eaſtern ſimilies, affording but ſmall traces of reſemblance, and are beſides not much to the honour of our country. For what analogy can we diſcover between the great men of Rome and thoſe of England; or between the Roman Senate and the Britiſh Parliament? The former, if we may believe the concurrent teſtimony of the hiſtorians of thoſe times, was a theatre of perpetual debate, a nurſery of faction, and a continual ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. The abilities of the moſt eminent men were proſtituted to the vileſt purpoſes; and every one, connecting himſelf with ſome party, ſought their aggrandiſement and his own, though at the expence of his country's deſtruction. Some pretended to maintain the privileges of the Ariſtocratic body, others, to aſſert the rights of the people; while, in fact, their real motive, the ſcope of all their words and actions, was to gratify their inordinate avarice of wealth and power, to ſupply the wants occaſioned by imprudence, extra-



extravagance, and diſſipation, and to make public virtue a ſtalking horſe to private ambition. *Per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavêre, honeſtis nominibus, alii ſicuti populi jura defenderent, pars quo ſenatûs auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum ſimulantes, pro ſuâ quiſque potentia certabant.* And what is an extraordinary proof of the infatuation of mankind, repeated experience had not ſerved to open the eyes of a deluded public; who vainly hoped to find, in every new pretender, that virtue, integrity and diſintereſtedneſs, of which they had been diſappointed in all his predeceſſors.

How little this picture repreſents the preſent ſtate of Britain, I ſhall leave to the reflection of the reader. Neither can I approve thoſe frequent compariſons that are made between the perſonal qualities of the antient Romans and the modern Britons, ſo much to the diſparagement of the latter. We ſhall find, on examination, no leſs ability and verſatility of talent in our's, than among the Roman ſtateſmen. A celebrated French moraliſt obſerves, that among us, viz. the moderns, the warrior is brave, and the lawyer learned; that we aſpire no farther; but that, among the Romans, the warrior was learned and the lawyer brave. Yet however juſt this obſervation may be in regard to the French, we may find an infinity of our countrymen, who are not remarkable for their profeſſional talents only. Thus, if Cicero, who was educated to the long robe, led a legion in Cilicia; we have alſo ſeen ſenators of our's commanding armies in America, and emulating him in the brilliancy of their victories. Nay, ſo cloſely are theſe qualities held to be united, that a gentleman has been at once appointed from the deſk to the command of a regiment; and a brave admiral has, on obtaining a victory over the enemy, been judged ſo far improved in eloquence

and parliamentary ability, as to be choſen the repreſentative of the ſecond city in the kingdom. Our warriors can ſpeak, and our ſtateſmen can fight (and indeed the one will often induce a neceſſity for the other) as well as the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters among the Romans; and if Pollio and Varus exerted their genius in the compoſition of Epic poetry, and Cæſar in that of a Latin grammar, we can boaſt Lords of the Privy Seal, who compoſe odes, Under-Secretaries who write comedies, and Commanders in Chief who excel in the compoſition of romances and comic operas.

But the great men among us do not confine their views to the acquiſition of the uſeful arts alone: our ſenators are not content with ſtudying the art of war, and our commanders with applying themſelves to politics: ornamental accompliſhments are acquired to decorate more ſubſtantial qualities; and it is a matter of indifference to ſome of our ſtateſmen, whether they diſh up a treaty of commerce, or exhibit a ſpecimen of graceful agility in the *minuet de la cour:* Secretaries of State learn in miniature how to manage the finances of the kingdom, and have to provide for the credit of other banks, beſides the bank of England; and our Envoys and Commiſſioners, no leſs ſkilled in dreſs than in politics, eſtabliſh the glory of the Engliſh name for taſte in this particular, in the moſt remote continents of the globe.

But if our great men do not yield to thoſe of any other age or nation, in capacity and variety of talent, I am ſure they go beyond them all in genuine patriotiſm. If the enlightened underſtanding of the preſent times prevents a Decius or a Curtius from devoting themſelves to certain and immediate death for the ſuppoſed advantage of their country, we at leaſt ſee every exertion of patriotiſm, that religion, reaſon and humanity will permit.

permit. If Rome boaſted her Octavius, her Anthony, and her Craſſus, who could, laying aſide all private animoſities, and forgetting all former cauſes of diſſention, unite heartily and co-operate for their country's good; England can produce a P—rt—d, a N—th, a F—x, a K——l, a C—v—h, and a B—ke, whoſe union has been no leſs remarkable, diſintereſted, and patriotic.——Theſe great men, if they have not yet laid down their lives, have at leaſt forfeited their characters, for the benefit of the ſtate; and that is ſurely a greater ſacrifice, in proportion as, in theſe modern times, honour is held more valuable than exiſtence.

It is well known, that envy and detraction are invariably the attendants of real merit. It is not, therefore, to be thought ſurpriſing, if the public voice be not unanimous in approbation of the great characters alluded to. Some perſons object to their title to poſſeſs the higheſt offices in the ſtate; others to their conduct whilſt in poſſeſſion of them; to both of which I ſhall ſay a word or two.

The firſt qualification, that points them out to the ſovereign and to the public, as the perſons who ſhould excluſively fill the various departments of government, conſiſts in their being in general happily diveſted of all domeſtic cares, ariſing from a ſuperabundance of property or civil concerns, which are apt to diſtract a miniſter's attention, and employ a great part of that time in private, which ought to be ſolely devoted to public, buſineſs: beſides, the greateſt part of them having been ſtripped of their ſubſtance by gamblers and ſharpers, they will be the more on their guard for the future, and the more vigilant in watching the public property: moreover, this experience muſt aſſiſt them vaſtly in negotiation; ſo that we need not wonder if they contrive to build a moſt ho

nourable

nourable and advantageous definitive treaty on the foundation of ſhameful and ruinous preliminaries.

To have been toſſed about in different ſeas, and in various kinds of weather, is what principally forms a good mariner: in like manner, have the majority of the gentlemen I am now ſpeaking of been beating for years the ocean of politics; and thoſe, on whom the ſun of influence has not ſhone, have been rudely buffetted by the waves of adverſity, during a length of unſucceſsful navigation. As their needle has veered round to every point of the compaſs, and as they have at times crowded every ſail, and explored every channel, ſtrait and open ſea, to get ſafe into the haven of office, it cannot be doubted but they are now well qualified to guide and direct the rudder of ſtate.

Moreover, as many of them have been reduced to various ſhifts and expedients to preſerve the life of an uſeful ſubject, while in oppoſition to former miniſters, the ſame ingenuity may, when they are advanced to power, be exerciſed on more important objects; and may particularly furniſh them with uſeful hints, when ſitting in a committee of ways and means.

Now ſince the principal members of the COALITION are poſſeſſed of ſuch extraordinary merit, can we queſtion the wiſdom of gentlemen of landed and monied intereſt in ſupporting it at the riſk, if not of their lives, yet of their fortunes; and in making an alternative of, the elevation of theſe miniſters, and of the annihilation of government and public credit. For what can be more philoſophical, prudent, and magnanimous, than to ſacrifice the good of the ſ———n, the public and one's ſelf, to the preſervation of political friendſhip, and to the intereſt of one's party.

But

But what ſhould chiefly recommend them to their friends and partiſans is, the ſteady attachment they ſhew to one another. This private connection between bodies of men is always drawn cloſer in proportion as they are ſevered from public ties: and it is generally found to ſubſiſt in the greateſt perfection among thoſe ſmall and intrepid ſocieties, who are continually labouring to amend the defective laws of their country, that reſpect the diſtribution of private property. Mr. F—x has no occaſion to fear the defection of his truſty colleagues; *namque idem velle, atque idem nolle, ea demum firma eſt amicitia*, as was obſerved by one of the greateſt men of antiquity: and who in reading the other parts of the ſpeech, * in which that paſſage is to be found, will not immediately call to his imagination that faithful guardian of the people's rights, anticipating the ſucceſs of the India bill with his confidants in the neighbourhood of St. James's.

In regard to the conduct of the noble and honourable members of the coalition, during the ſhort time they held the reins of government, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, in a few words, that they accompliſhed more for the benefit of the ſtate than had ever been done by miniſters in ſo ſhort a period.

Firſt, as to the termination of hoſtilities: they concluded the definitive treaties with France and Spain in leſs than ſix months after the ratification of the preliminaries; and in leſs than nine months had proceeded a good way towards the concluſion of a peace with Holland. But their merit princi-

* Ni virtus, fideſque veſtra ſatis ſpectata mihi foret, nequicquam opportuna res cecidiſſet; ſpes MAGNÆ DOMINATIONIS in manibus fruſtra fuiſſet: neque per ignaviam aut vanum timorem INCERTA PRO CERTIS CAPTAREM. Sed uti vos ſemper cognovi fortes, fidoſque mihi, &c.

pally

pally reſted on this point, that, by a kind of magic, they contrived, without violating or altering a ſingle article of the preliminary treaty, to convert what was before the moſt ignominious Britain had ever ſubmitted to, into one both honourable and beneficial: (at leaſt ſo they have aſſured the parliament themſelves; and we cannot have it on better authority). And as former miniſters had committed a great irregularity and overſight, in not having hoſtilities publicly proclaimed, they were determined not to incur a ſimilar cenſure, by neglecting to have the peace proclaimed; which was therefore done with all due formality.

Money being wanted, when they came into office, they quickly negotiated a loan, *ſine multis ambagibus*: and the public might be confident they had a good bargain; as in order to prevent the uſurious offers of ſtrangers, they took care to confine it chiefly to the circle of their own friends and dependants.

It will be readily acknowledged, that it was impoſſible for them in the preſent depreſſed ſtate of our finances to carry much to the ſinking fund: it is enough for them, if they have prevented the whole from being entitled to that appellation.—— Yet if they have not paid off any of the national debts, I am credibly informed, they have wiped off their own, to a very conſiderable amount. Now, charity begins at home, and we may ſuppoſe the public's turn would have come next, had they been permitted to continue in office. Indeed, we have reaſon to think that they harboured a deſign of this nature; and from the gradual falling of the ſtocks, we muſt conclude, they only waited till they were ſufficiently low, when a great part might be paid off at once without difficulty.

So much for war and peace, and the operations of finance. As to commercial concerns, they were

were in no hurry to form any treaties of commerce with America, or any other of our late opponents: for they judiciouſly conſidered, that after ſo long and bloody a war, our ſailors would require ſome little breathing time, to have the opportunity of enjoying the fruits of their labour.

As to reforms of the police; I need only hint that very great improvement in the execution of criminals under the walls of Newgate. I am aware, that the ſheriffs of London will be likely to take the merit of this plan to themſelves: yet I cannot but think that it muſt have originated in the cabinet: and though we need not doubt but that every convict will have cauſe to be much delighted with the change, yet I dare ſay miniſters were perfectly diſintereſted in the ſuggeſtion of it, and had no view to any private convenience, or future advantage either of themſelves or their friends.

With regard to the other plan of reform, in the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, which their ſudden diſmiſſion from his Majeſty's councils, prevented them from carrying into effect, I ſhall ſay nothing either for or againſt it, as its merits have been more than ſufficiently diſcuſſed already, both in and out of parliament. It ſurely cannot be imagined, but that Mr. F—x and his colleagues were entirely diſintereſted in their ſupport of the bill, and neither intended to prop up their own greatneſs, ſince by the event it appears to have been well enough eſtabliſhed; nor to ſupply their private wants, ſeeing they had none; nor to provide for dependents and hangers-on; ſince theſe were all, to a man, in affluent circumſtances: but merely for the benefit of the Eaſt-India company and that of government, as declared in the preamble to the bill; and as will be proved by the candid ſupport which will doubtleſs be afforded by the ſame gentle-

men to any bill of the like tendency, introduced by the new miniſters.

As to their proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, by ſome perſons thought rather violent, which immediately preceded, and perhaps immediately cauſed, their diſmiſſion from office, they were undoubtedly right in the principles on which they acted. For ſurely the King ſhould think, as well as act, ſolely by his miniſters: the private dictates of his conſcience, and his own particular ideas, as a ſovereign and a man, ought certainly, if counter to the wiſhes or repreſentations of his faithful ſervants in the vineyard, to be attributed to *ſecret influence:* two words which, if made a proper uſe of, may no leſs effectually anſwer the purpoſes of a party than thoſe two by which the defenders of the proteſtant faith in the ſummer of 1780 diſtinguiſhed themſelves and their adherents. Theſe miniſters, I ſay, conſidered, that his Majeſty is endowed with ſo many privileges, immunities, and prerogatives above the higheſt of his ſubjects, that he might well diſpenſe with one, which every private gentleman may indulge in, namely, of adviſing with whom he pleaſes, and of keeping what company he thinks proper. A miniſter ſhould watch over his ſovereign with the attentive eye of a circumſpect huſband; though I do not pretend to inſinuate that he ſhould endeavour to reduce him to the legal incapacities of a wife; that is to ſay, of having no will or power of his own: (that is an attempt which I cannot ſuppoſe any miniſter would think of making, either in this or in any other country) but I would recommend it to him, to watch his maſter ſo cloſely, in order to prevent the fatal effects of favoritiſm, as not to ſuffer him even to be ſhaved, or to have his wig adjuſted, unleſs in the preſence of a cabinet miniſter.

Now

Now that we have taken a ſhort view of the general conduct of the coalition miniſtry, we muſt advert to certain individual appointments, which ſeem to have been arranged with a more than ordinary diſcretion. Thus, they choſe a gentleman perhaps of all the moſt converſant in buſineſs, the moſt independent in circumſtances, and the moſt immaculate in credit, to that poſt of reſponſibility and truſt, the ſecretaryſhip to the treaſury. The two principal ſecretaries of ſtate divided the ground admirably between them, the one hunting in the foreign, the other in the home department, and both evidently fattening in ſpite of their labour. Nothing, indeed, could be more judicious than this arrangement. Mr. F—x, the foreign ſecretary, had already proved his abilities in negotiation; and if L—d N—th was not perfectly acquainted with domeſtic affairs and the internal ſtate of the kingdom, he muſt have had an inferior capacity to what even his enemies will allow him, conſidering how many taxes he laid on it, when he preſided formerly in another department. It has been ſaid, that this nobleman's wit can be of no great ſervice to him in his office: but this I apprehend to be an erroneous judgment: for ſhould a miniſter even reſolve to ruin the affairs of a nation, it is better done in a pleaſant and facetious manner than otherwiſe, and may at leaſt prevent men's minds from being too much embittered with ſorrowful reflections. Upon the whole, we may aſſert with literal truth, that theſe two right honourable ſecretaries are gentlemen of as much perſonal weight, and as able to fill the ſeat they jointly occupied, as moſt members of either houſe of parliament.

The care and preſervation of the Britiſh navy being the immediate, and almoſt the ſole charge of the firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty in time of peace; who could be pointed out as better quali-

fied for ſuch an appointment, than one who had already ſhewn ſo much circumſpection in preſerving his Majeſty's ſhips not only from the fury of the elements, but alſo from the attacks of the enemy?

The army was alſo placed under the direction of a gentleman, who was well fitted to preſide over that department. It has often been lamented, that ſecretaries at war have not been choſen among perſons bred to the profeſſion. This was an error which theſe diſcerning miniſters were determined to avoid. They therefore caſt their eyes among the armed bands, and choſe a man of character and experience, who, having the diſtinguiſhed rank of captain in his Majeſty's guards, would ſet competition and envy at defiance. This was not, however, his only qualification. Fortune is ſaid to do every thing in war; and the army has been frequently denominated a lottery: if ſo, this gentleman is peculiarly calculated to fill the office he was appointed to: as he has long ſince been a votary of fortune, and is ſkilled in the whole doctrine of chances.

To ſay nothing of the noted ability, and far-famed popularity of the noble Viceroy of Ireland, the army in that kingdom was commanded by an officer, who was of all men the moſt proper for that important charge. For, as the affairs of Ireland were allowed to be in a rather tickliſh ſituation, as many perſons apprehended, and perhaps ſtill continue to apprehend, an inſurrection of the Volunteers to be neither a very diſtant nor improbable event, none could be more aptly ſingled out by Miniſters for managing the Military Department of that country, than one who has already ſhewn his expertneſs in cruſhing rebellions in America, and in over-running whole provinces—by proclamation.

Though

Though the heads of this coalition miniſtry have in general too much confidence in their own abilities and virtues, to be reduced to the neceſſity of enliſting DESERTERS under their banner, yet their reception of Lord C—le, and their appointment of him to the privy ſeal, may perhaps be reprobated under that idea, by thoſe who do not coolly and candidly weigh the peculiar circumſtances of the caſe. This nobleman had indeed acted the character of a Tory under a former adminiſtration; ſo had L—d N—h before the coalition, and ſo had Mr. F—x himſelf before he was turned out of the treaſury by the former: yet both are now moſt indiſputably good and lawful Whigs. This apparent inconſiſtency in his Lordſhip muſt be excuſed, when we make allowances for the levity of youth, and when we conſider that he might have been led into error by the perſuaſion and example of his friends, and by family connections; and when we reflect that he had abandoned all thoſe perſons, by whom alone he had formerly riſen to power, together with his principles and ſyſtem of politics, we cannot doubt that his tergiverſation was no leſs ſincere than virtuous. Excluſively of all theſe conſiderations, his prodigious talents would alone have entitled him to a welcome reception into any party: yet I queſtion whether he is ſenſible of all his various endowments: for beſides his qualifications as a poet, an ambaſſador, a viceroy, and a cabinet miniſter, he ſeems to have an admirable turn for MUSIC, which he would do well to cultivate at leaſt as much as politics: for a proof of which I appeal to any one who has heard him lately deliver in the Houſe of Lords, with ſuch melodious cadence, what was ſpoken by Mr. F—x in the Houſe of Commons.

As to the facetious, learned and philoſophical Mr. E—d B—ke, who, though not honoured with

a ſeat

a ſeat in the cabinet, was at leaſt admitted behind the curtain, and may be ſaid to have had the care of the machinery, he was with much propriety appointed to an office, which required his Herculean hand to cleanſe it. In this ſituation he might at leaſt have exerciſed the flight of his SUBLIME imagination, if not employed the powers of his judgment, in framing annual ſchemes for the reform of the Pay-Maſter-General's department, till he had moulded it into a perfectly BEAUTIFUL ſyſtem. But alas! the invidious enemies of virtue would not ſuffer him long to occupy a ſtation, to which he was ſo bright an ornament: and after ſtaying in the poſt of Pay-Maſter-General long enough only to add a little taſte for military diſcipline to his other ſources of intellectual enjoyment, he would have been cruelly left without any other kind of reſource, without any proviſion of a corporeal nature, to lament like JAFFIER his former familiarity with affluence and good fare, had not his friends carefully provided him with a penſion of £.2500 a year, to which ſurely he was entitled by his exertions in the reduction of the public expenditure. Let not the tongue of malice preſume to carp at this well-earned proviſion for an old meritorious ſervant of the public! Does not a gentleman pay his ſteward for taking care of his eſtate? And why ſhould the public not reward thoſe miniſters, by whom their property has been ſaved from utter annihilation? Beſides, I will venture to affirm, that the benefit of this penſion will in the end reſult to thoſe from whom it is collected. While Mr. B—ke was unprovided with office or ſtipend, he had no perſonal experience in the art of houſe-keeping: and hence it is, I imagine, that all his plans proved abortive for the retrenchment of the King's table: whereas, he will now have it in his power to learn the moſt advan-

advantageous method; and moſt probably by the next time he comes into office, his ſchemes for the reform of the royal kitchen will be matured; when he will, doubtleſs, bring them forward, together with the other parts of his bill of œconomy, which he did not before think it neceſſary to carry into execution while a VIRTUOUS MINISTRY preſided at the helm, as neither he nor his friends could foreſee that they would be ſo quickly forced to abandon it.

Beſides the various merits of the coalition miniſtry, conſidered individually and collectively, ſome of which I have juſt touched on, I muſt not omit to mention the following, which many will judge of more conſequence than all the reſt: Theſe noble and honourable perſons, or at leaſt the acting characters among them, are not ſo weak and narrow-minded as to be attached to any particular principles or ſyſtem: their being of one perſuaſion this month is no bar to a different one the next: ſuch bigotry would be highly unbecoming the miniſter of a free and proteſtant country. Thus they need not perſiſt blindly in one undeviating track; but every means may be tried for the ſalvation of the empire. At any rate, it muſt be allowed by oppoſitioniſts themſelves, that theſe miniſters cannot be always in the wrong; which is more than is allowed by oppoſition to every miniſter. I am aware of an objection that may be ſtarted from the private character and conduct of one of the principal members of this confederacy: but I muſt here premiſe, and I ſhall attempt to prove it, that Mr. F—x becomes an entirely new man, and caſts off his vices, retaining only his good qualities, at the very inſtant he accepts an office. Though any reaſonable perſon may be convinced of this by thoſe diſintereſted periodical publications, called NEWS PAPERS, yet I ſhall ſubjoin

ſubjoin a few inſtances for thoſe who are not ſo eaſily perſuaded.

Mr. F—x, out of office, is rather prone to a condeſcenſion, though certainly proceeding from an amiable motive, yet unbecoming a man of his rank in life, in mixing too much with the rabble, drinking and ſhaking hands with them, and on certain occaſions aſking favours of them; but when he becomes a Secretary of State, he knows how to ſupport his dignity, to diſmiſs importunate ſolicitors, and to keep ſuch ragamuffins at a proper diſtance.

Mr. F—x, when out of office, and in a minority, does not value a ruſh all the votes and reſolves of Parliament, but treats them with ridicule and contempt; when he becomes a miniſter, or is ſupported by a majority (which he thinks as good) the film is cleared from before his eyes, and he perceives that a majority of the Houſe of Commons is omnipotent, as well as omniſcient and infallible; and that the Miniſter or the man who dares to ſet himſelf againſt it, merits nothing leſs than parliamentary impeachment.

Mr. F—x, out of office, abhors all taxes that are not laid on luxuries and ſuperfluities: Mr. F—x, in office, finds that the ſupplies muſt be raiſed at all events, and that taxes on the neceſſaries of life are beſt, as being the moſt infallibly productive.

Mr. F—x, out of office, thinks that miniſters ſhould explicitly open their minds, in every ſtage of buſineſs, to parliament, though it ſhould convey information to an enemy: in office, he deems it profane, in any member to attempt to pry into the myſteries of the cabinet.

While Mr. F—x is in office, during a time of war, he finds the reſources of the ſtate exhauſted, our army annihilated, and our navy mouldered away;

away; ſo that any peace he may be concerned in making muſt be acceptable: but if, on the concluſion of the war, he is out of office, he ſuddenly diſcovers that public credit was flouriſhing, the army undiminiſhed, and the navy powerful beyond what it had been at any former period.

Out of office, Mr. F—x reprobates the number of uſeleſs ſinecures, and the profuſion of the public money in penſions. When in office, he determines that they ſhall be aboliſhed after his friends have been all taken care of: for ſudden innovations are dangerous to a proverb: beſides, it would be hard if their own virtue and ſelf-denial were to deprive them of their uſual emoluments of office; and what can be more juſt and reaſonable, than that a gentleman who condeſcends to accept a poſt of 8 or 10,000*l.* a year, ſhould, on being obliged to quit it, be indemnified for the riſk and trouble he underwent in receiving ſo much of the public money.

In the ſubſequent collection, I ſhall produce proofs that other members of the coalition cabinet are no more bigotted or narrow-minded than Mr. F—x; but are equally open to reaſon and conviction. If their ſeveral parts ſhould appear incongruous, let it be conſidered, that what I bring together into one drama, was acted at different times and on different occaſions; thus many of us have ſeen the firſt character in the profeſſion, after performing the hero in a tragedy, condeſcend to perſonate a tobacconiſt in the farce.

Whoever will take the trouble of contemplating more fully thoſe virtues, which I have here but ſlightly illuſtrated, will greatly lament the loſs that muſt accrue to the ſovereign, and to the nation at large, from the diſmiſſion of ſuch a ſet of men from his Majeſty's councils: nothing ſurely but SE-

CRET INFLUENCE and a COURT FACTION could rob them of the royal favour, and of the confidence of the Upper Houſe of Parliament: but how would not the public indignation be rouſed, if it were known that this abominable court faction is compoſed of only five inconſiderable adherents of the King; namely, his judgment, his conſcience, his honour, his intereſt, and his common-ſenſe!

But to proceed to the actors in our political drama.

EAST-

EAST-INDIA AFFAIRS.

IN the debate ariſing on the bill for regulating the Eaſt-India Company, in March, 1773,

Lord J—n C—v—h ſaid, that adminiſtration had ſhewn a ſtrange propenſity to interfere in every ſpecies of the executive power: that ſuch a procedure as the preſent was a dangerous precedent; for, with reſpect to declaring what dividend the company ſhould or ſhould not make, it was to all intents and purpoſes, to wreſt the power of declaring a dividend out of the hands of the directors, wherein it was by charter lodged, and to veſt that right, where neither the company's charter, nor the cuſtom obſerved with reſpect to trading companies, authorized it to be veſted, IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. E——d B—ke ſtated the following propoſitions:

"That the treaty between the government and the company was, on the ſide of government, iniquitous in every part.

"That with reſpect to the territorial acquiſitions, not one lawyer, with a rag of gown upon his back, or a wig with one tie, had given it as his opinion, that the right of theſe poſſeſſions was veſted in the crown, and not in the company.

"That the French Eaſt-India Company, under a deſpotic government, was in a better ſituation than the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, under a government which pretended to liberty.

"That in reſpect to the mode of conducting itſelf, the French mode was angelic, compared with the Engliſh.

" That the vote, then about to paſs, was ſuch an infringement upon CHARTER RIGHTS, as the ſpirit of Engliſhmen ought not to brook; and ſuch a violation of the conſtitution as might indeed be paralleled, but could not be exceeded, in any country, how deſpotic ſoever."

To prove the firſt of theſe propoſitions, he contended, the pretext for interfering in the company's affairs was in 1767 the ſame as in 1773; miſmanagement, corruption, frauds and peculation of every kind, *were ſaid* to have been committed by the company's ſervants both at home and abroad. Have theſe evils been rectified? Not one ſingle ſuſpected perſon has been examined. On the contrary, if the evils complained of did really exiſt, if the whole management of the company's affairs was one ſcene of blood-ſhed, rapine, violence and perfidy abroad; of corruption, ſtock-jobbing, trick, villainy and artifice at home---you, miniſters, at the ſame time that you held out this as a reaſon for entering at all into an examination of the company's affairs---you, I ſay, ſanctified theſe crimes, and granted a royal permit for the company's ſervants to practiſe them in future, for the valuable conſideration of £400,000.

What is now advanced will hold with reſpect to the company's territorial acquiſitions: the lawyers equivocated when the queſtion was agitated: one ſaid, " the company's territorial acquiſitions were held by grant under office, and not by conqueſt;" another ſaid, " that the crown, though it could not obtain them by a legal right, yet ought, *per fas aut nefas*, to enjoy them." But the company's poſſeſſions were not gained by conqueſt, and therefore the crown can have no right to them; or, granting them to have been all gained by conqueſt, even then the crown has no right to them; no lawyer

lawyer has ventured poſitively to aſſert ſuch a claim.

" What," ſays he, " are you now about to do? Are you not going *to invade the rights of the company as inveſted in them by charter?* Have you ſuch an authority by the conſtitution? No. Are you not going to aſſume it? Yes. Are you not as my noble friend (Lord J. C—v—h) has obſerved, going to ſeize the executive power, and illegally to deprive the directors of the company of their rights?"

N. B. It muſt be obſerved, that the deſign of the bill in queſtion, which ſo greatly excited Mr. B—ke's diſapprobation, and called forth the exertion of his eloquence in invective, went to the regulating and reſtraining of the company's dividends, and not merely to the " placing of their property in the hands of certain commiſſioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public."

See Almon's Parliamentary Debates, vol. x. p. 252.

Likewiſe, in December, 1772, on a bill being introduced into the Houſe of Commons, for reſtraining, for a limited time, the Eaſt-India Company from ſending out ſuperviſors, Mr. B—ke expreſſed himſelf as follows:

" I riſe up to deliver my ſentiments upon a meaſure, *the brat of adminiſtration*, which I think ſubverſive of thoſe rights which the India Company not only enjoy by charter, but which they have bought. The learned counſel have ſo ably gone through the company's right of appointing ſuperviſors, and ſo ably ſtated to the Houſe the urgent neceſſity for ſuch an appointment, that I will not follow them through one inch of the ground they have gone over; perſuaded, as I am, that they have left conviction on the mind of every gentleman, who retains the leaſt particle of parliamentary independence,

dependence, and the leaſt regard to NATIONAL FAITH. Shame upon ſuch proceedings! Recollect, I entreat you, your dignity. Recollect too the national faith is in this inſtance violated! And I conjure you by all that is either dear or ſacred, that you will recollect the noble intrepidity of your brave anceſtors, and how they would have acted, if any miniſter in their time had dared to have told them, after the uninterrupted enjoyment of a long and glorious peace, that the India Company were in a ſtate of almoſt actual bankruptcy, and that they were on the brink of ruin, when he himſelf was the cauſe of that ruin.—What has the ſecret committee of this parliament been but a mock enquiry? They have redreſſed no grievances; and, conſidering that the government annually receives from the Eaſt-India Company one million, net money, for duties, cuſtom and exciſe, I think this bill, which may materially affect the revenue, ſhould not be precipitately aſſented to—."

Parl. Debates, vol. x. p. 179.

On the ſecond reading of Mr. F—x's Eaſt-India bill, in the Houſe of Commons, on Monday, Dec. 11ſt, Mr. B—ke,

" Particularly urged the neceſſity of the bill, from the oppreſſion which had been exerciſed by the ſervants of the company towards the natives. It had been objected to this meaſure, that it was deſtroying the chartered rights of a company. He wiſhed to know what thoſe chartered rights were that were held thus ſacred—That the object of the Eaſt-India charters was only a grievous monopoly: which could not be ſucceſsful without encroachment on the rights of individuals. Were ſuch charters the objects for the wiſe and humane protection of imperial legiſlature? No! the ſooner ſuch charters were aboliſhed, the more advantage would

would accrue to the commercial intereſt of the community in general.—He then went into a detail of the company's conduct in the various provinces ſubject to their dominion. They had bartered treachery for fidelity, ſelling every perſon who had placed in them the leaſt degree of confidence. Every treaty they made was the object of their violation. He aſked how long this country was to be execrated through its permiſſion of the outrages of the company. Surely they were the laſt who ſhould complain of violated charters, who never fulfilled a ſingle negotiation to which they had ſet their ſignet. It was very unſeeming in them to reprobate any meaſures for being violent or arbitrary.—That the bill before the Houſe was of more importance than ten charters of the Eaſt-India Company.—He conſidered the magnitude, importance and extent of the Britiſh territories in India, as vaſtly beyond the powers of a company of merchants to govern them."

Lord J. C---v---h ſaid, that nobody but a child or trifler would think of continuing the preſent conſtitution of the India Company. There were then but two options: to give the crown the appointments, or to nominate in parliament to them. The latter was adopted. Why? Becauſe it was the moſt efficacious—with regard to party, there always was and muſt be party in a free country. It was inſeparable from the nature of our conſtitution; *he had been a party-man all his life*, and ſo he ſhould continue.

On a motion made by Lord N---h, April 9th, 1781, " that the houſe do, on the 25th, reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider of India affairs; and to conſider the propriety of the crown taking into its own hands the territorial acquiſitions of the Eaſt-India Company, and

and ſecuring to the public a ſhare of the revenues ariſing therefrom:"

Mr. B---ke roſe, he ſaid, for the purpoſe of ſtopping the debate; and yet he could not help ſaying that the noble lord had, in the courſe of his ſpeech, advanced ſeveral things to which he could not ſubſcribe. The claim, he believed, was unfounded---and he warned the noble lord againſt beginning, by *an act of violence*, a buſineſs which would require all the moderation, as well as all the wiſdom of the legiſlature, finally to adjuſt.

Parliam. Regiſter, vol. iii. p. 156.

When Lord N---h moved, in the committee, May 23d, of the ſame ſeſſions,

"That all the Eaſt-India Company's preſent charter-rights and privileges be preſerved to them entire, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the rights of the crown: that the excluſive trade be prolonged for the term of ten years, to be reckoned from the 1ſt day of March, 1781, on conſideration of the directors paying into his Majeſty's Exchequer the ſum of 600,000*l.* &c."

Mr. B---ke made a very animated and eloquent ſpeech. He ſaid, the chief of the noble lord's argument againſt the propoſition of the company was this: he would not accede to the propoſition, becauſe the company did not admit that the public have a claim upon them; ſo that the argument cut double like a two-edged ſword; for it muſt be ſolved with thus, "If you admit the claim of the public, I call upon you on behalf of your creditors to pay their juſt dues;" or thus, "If you do not admit the claim, why then I will take that by force, which you deny that I ought to receive as a right." Moſt admirable reaſoning! the noble lord will neither beg, borrow nor receive as a due; but he will have it nevertheleſs, and *ſeize upon that by rapine*

rapine and plunder to which he has no title, and cannot juſtify his receiving in any way.—He had better *carry all the buſineſs of Leadenhall-ſtreet at once, and tranſact it at the board of Treaſury*. His reaſoning, to juſtify the violence and force he was practiſing, he pronounced ſhamefully pitiful. The reaſoning of the lion in the fable was leſs cenſurable---" This I ſeize," ſays the lion, " becauſe I have teeth; this, becauſe I wear a mane on my neck; this, becauſe I have claws; and this laſt morſel, not becauſe I have either truth, reaſon or juſtice to ſupport me and juſtify my taking it, but becauſe I am a lion."

The houſe had expreſſed great ſatisfaction at a part of Lord N—th's ſpeech: Mr. B—ke ſaid, it was the ſhouts of the houſe and of *majorities at the appeal to the paſſions* * *artfully made* by the noble lord, that had ever been the forerunner of ſome national evil.

He ſaid, the preſent motion was the *daring effort of a miniſter determined on rapine and plunder*, without regard to truth, honour or juſtice: a violent and ſhameleſs attempt to rob the company, in order to purſue the purpoſes of the moſt laviſh waſte and the moſt profligate corruption. The noble lord might truly be ſaid to be *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*. He conjured the committee not to join the noble lord and his adherents, ſaying, " Let us not deduce European ſupplies from Aſiatic rapacity. Let us ſhew ourſelves awake to the calls of reaſon and alive to the impulſe of equity!"

Mr. B---ke afterwards, in reply to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, cenſured his lordſhip for appealing to the paſſions of the houſe, by the term ASIATIC PLUNDERERS. He obſerved, that in rea-

* Mr. B—ke is above this artifice of appealing to the paſſions, by ſtories of bloody murders, rapes, robberies, &c.!

ſoning on the policy and juſtice of the reſolution propoſed, he ſhould apply himſelf rather to the underſtanding, than to the feelings of the houſe; but to talk of Aſiatic plunderers, for the purpoſe that the learned lord had adopted the phraſe, was clearly a *fit of oratory*; which, though he paid as much homage to the talent as any man, he could not admit of on this occaſion. With reſpect to the general queſtion, he profeſſed every poſſible degree of reſpect for the great authorities quoted by the learned lord; but *he knew* CROWN LAWYERS *too well, to truſt in their opinions between the crown and ſubjects.*

June 8, 1781, On the further proſecution of the ſame buſineſs,

Mr. F---x entered into the queſtion, and examined the pretenſions of the public to the claim now made, with his uſual penetration, force and energy. He ſaid, that revenue was, and ought to be conſidered as diſtinct from ſovereignty; at leaſt it ought not to be aſſerted, that becauſe we had ſovereignty, we had alſo a right to collect the revenue in our own way, without conſulting thoſe who were to pay for it. By the experience which we had in the American conteſt, we had ſurely diſcovered, that *robbery* was not only diſgraceful, but ruinous. Had not the noble lord yet felt enough of the conſequences of robbery? He reprobated the whole of his conduct as impolitic, abſurd and abominable. The acquiſitions of territory had been made for the purpoſes of commerce, *under the expreſs ſanction of their* CHARTER, and unleſs government repaid them the expence incurred in the conqueſts, they had not a right to them.

Mr. B---KE ſaid, he did not mean to enter into the queſtion of right to the territorial poſſeſſions. Sufficient to the day was the violence thereof. The noble

noble lord's friends were wiſe in endeavouring to ſhift the queſtion from its true ground. The noble lord might ſet up the claim of the public, on the reſolution of that houſe, with impunity, becauſe he knew that he would be ſupported in every ſpecies of rapacity; but at the ſame time he muſt himſelf be certain, that the claim was only adding inſult to injury.

Lord J---N C---V---H warmly reprehended the noble lord for his *violent and unjuſt conduct* in the whole of the buſineſs.

Parliam. Regiſter, vol. iii.

Alſo in a committee of the whole houſe on *Eaſt-India* affairs, April 9th, 1782.

Mr. F—x ſaid, there was one propoſition made by the learned Lord (the Lord Advocate of Scotland) that did not meet his wiſhes; and that was the taking from the Eaſt-India Company, and placing under the direction of the crown, the entire management of our territorial poſſeſſions in the Eaſt. This he could not approve of, conſiſtently with his regard for the crown, and the conſtitution of this country. It would afford to government ſuch ample means of corruption and undue influence, as might in the end overthrow the whole conſtitution, and deprive us of our beſt and deareſt rights; and on this account he thought it would be more prudent to leave the appointment of its own ſervants to the company, but notwithſtanding, to keep a watchful eye over them, and to be able to puniſh and remove thoſe, who, from their miſconduct in their government, ſhould be found deſerving of it.

On the 21ſt of March, 1780, Lord N—h moved, *not, that an extent ſhould be iſſued from the Ex-*

chequer on all the company's warehouſes and goods, for the payment of cuſtoms due, but, that notice be given, that the capital ſtock or debt of £4,200,000, and all arrears of annuity due and payable in reſpect thereof from the public to the United Company of Merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies, be paid on the 5th of April, 1783, agreeably to the ſtipulated power of redemption."

Mr. F—x roſe to give his negative to the motion. He aſked, why the noble lord threw out this threat, unleſs he wiſhed to ruin the Eaſt-India Company, and to deprive this country of the ample revenue ſhe received through the commerce of that company? It was ridiculous, it was dangerous, to threaten, when men dared not to perform what they threatened. Let the noble lord, let the houſe, turn their eyes to the probable conſequences of that threat. Good God! what a ſcene of anarchy, confuſion, diſtreſs and ruin would it not occaſion! —He imputed the bad underſtanding between the company and the noble lord, to the noble lord having attempted *to poſſeſs himſelf of the patronage of the company*, and having endeavoured to carry every thing in his own way in Leadenhall-ſtreet, declaring that he ſuppoſed they would not, on that account, treat with the noble lord at all.

Mr. B—KE reprobated the intention of giving notice to the company, according to the motion, as the moſt wicked, abſurd, abandoned, profligate, mad and drunken intention, that was ever formed! He ſaid, that miniſters ſhould regard the Eaſt-India Company as their friends, as their beſt commercial allies, and as their brethren. The noble lord talked of the public, and of the rights of the public; the Eaſt-India Company was a part of that public, as dear to the houſe and worthy their attention as the noble lord and his ſpeculations of revenue, as any miniſter who now did or ever had exiſted.

QUERY.

QUERY. *Can a miniſter derive any extraordinary influence from the patronage of the Eaſt-India Company?*

January 23d, 1782, Mr. F—x ſaid, That of all the miniſters in the cabinet, there was not one more formidable, perhaps not one ſo formidable, from influence, as the Earl of Sandwich: his ſituation gave him the influence of a whole profeſſion; as a cabinet miniſter, he would of courſe find ſupport in the influence of his colleagues; but Lord Sandwich had, independent of theſe two ſources of influence, another, which though not equal to that of the crown, was a powerful addition to it; and, with it, ſufficient to cruſh any member who ſhould bring charges againſt him: this INFLUENCE he derived from the EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

Parl. Reg. vol. v. p. 249.

COALITION ACADEMY OF COMPLIMENTS.

Picture of "my noble friend in the blue ribband," as he ſat for it in 1774.

Mr. B—ke compared the Houſe of Commons to a dead, ſenſeleſs maſs, which had neither ſoul nor activity, but as it derived them from the MINISTER. If his lordſhip chuſes to tell them one day, that America is in a ſtate little ſhort of rebellion, it is all very well; if, in a few days after, he acquaints them, at ſecond hand, that he has no information to authoriſe ſuch an aſſertion, who can doubt his candour and his veracity? Both aſſertions ſtill remain uncontradicted, and all muſt be ſilence. A few days ſince, it was indecent to call for papers becauſe they could be had; to look for

for them now, would be improper, becauſe they cannot be had. That however abſurd it might ſeem, ſuch conduct was, nevertheleſs, founded on ſyſtem; for, if matters turned out well, the merit would be imputed to the miniſter: whereas, if they ſhould be attended with miſcarriage or misfortune, it is no more than applying to Parliament, and every thing will be ſet to rights; that is, we deſpiſe the Parliament; but when we have blundered and ruined our affairs, perhaps beyond a poſſibility of redreſs, then we will come to Parliament---to do what? To remedy what is incurable, and to recover what can never be regained. It is an old device, though methinks not a very wiſe one, to truſt to the chapter of accidents. The book in which it is contained, has the beginning and the end torn out. This valuable chapter counſels you to truſt to accidents, becauſe accidents are ſometimes productive of good fortune---He concluded his obſervations with remarking, that ignorance and folly are nearly allied; that to effect the latter, we muſt be held in ignorance, and that by both we would be the fitter to receive vigilance, activity, information and knowledge, whenever the miniſter thought proper to communicate the one or inſpire the other.

Parl. Reg. vol. i. p. 14.

On another day, in the ſame ſeſſions, Mr. B---KE ſaid, whenever the black and bitter day of reckoning ſhould come, he would convict the noble lord and his colleagues of ſuch a chain of blunders and neglects, as would bring vengeance on their heads.

Mr. F---x averred, that the noble lord had no knowledge of buſineſs, no ſyſtem or plan of conduct; that he had often declared his unfitneſs for his ſtation; and *pledged himſelf to join Mr. B---ke in*

in purſuing him and bringing him to anſwer the miſchiefs occaſioned by his inſufficiency, his inconſiſtency and his incapacity; that he ſaid not this from reſentment, but from the view of the deſtructive proceedings of a bad miniſter.

Lord North ſaid, it was incumbent on him to ſay a word in anſwer to ſome general charges made againſt him by two honourable gentlemen. He obſerved, that thoſe gentlemen conſtantly made a point, not only of attacking, but of threatening him. As to general charges, he could only anſwer them in general terms; and when that black, bitter, trying day ſhould come, which had been prophecied by one of thoſe gentlemen, and that he ſhould bring any particular charge, he truſted in being able to make a particular anſwer. As to the other, who found ſo many cauſes of cenſure, and who diſclaimed all reſentment, he was ſure, though he now diſcovered in him ſo much incapacity and negligence, there was a time when he approved at leaſt of ſome part of his conduct.

Mr. F---x, in reply, ſaid, " That my private reſentments have not affected my public conduct, will be readily believed, ſince I might long ago have juſtly charged him with the moſt *unexampled treachery and falſhood*."---

Parl. Reg. vol. i. p. 121, 122, 123.

Conſiſtency of the Premier.

March 8, 1781, Mr. B---ke adverted, with inimitable pleaſantry, to what had fallen from Lord N---th, the day before, concerning the poverty of the Houſe of Commons. Says the noble Lord, this Houſe cannot have ſuch a proportion of the loan as is pretended; for this is a poor Houſe. This the noble Lord advanced, not without wit and humour,

humour, of which Mr. B---ke allowed him to be a great maſter. It was a very heavy charge againſt the honourable gentlemen; for poverty at preſent was the greateſt diſhonour, and wealth the only thing to make a man well received in all companies. But Mr. B---ke recalled to the noble Lord's recollection a contrary poſition of his, viz. that the Houſe of Commons was a moſt reſpectable aſſembly; reſpectable, he meant, for their independent fortune and riches. What! was ſuch an aſſembly to be corrupted?

This was the ſtrain of the noble Lord's eloquence on ſome occaſions: but on others he found it convenient to argue their incorruptibility from their poverty, as he did at preſent. They have nothing to give away; therefore they cannot be corrupted: and thus, by the double operation of poverty and wealth, the Engliſh Houſe of Commons is not only the moſt incorrupt, but the moſt incorruptible aſſembly that ever was in the world. The rich are ſo full of pure water, that there is no room for a drop of foul; and the poor are like a ſieve, which can hold nothing, but which lets every thing paſs through it. Hence an incorruptibility might be inferred from both ſides of the Houſe, from the moſt oppoſite cauſes; incorruptibility---from poverty; incorruptibility---from opulence.

Parl. Reg. vol. iii. p. 459.

March 6, 1782. Mr. Fox. "What good can the country expect from a man whoſe whole adminiſtration has been one continued ſeries of blunders? From the noble Lord's confeſſion to-day, he has proved himſelf what I always took him for, viz. an ignorant and bad financier, a man totally unacquainted with the reſources of the country, and certainly unfit for and unworthy of the office he holds."

Mr.

Mr. F—x added, That it was ſuch conduct as muſt ſtamp indelible diſgrace on the noble Lord, who, in a former debate a few evenings ſince, ſaid, "You ſhould not ſpeak out and declare your readineſs for peace; it will prevent your getting ſuch good terms as you have a right to demand." Could any thing ſpeak out plainer to our enemies than the noble Lord himſelf had done this day? Had he not declared to all the world, that this nation was incapable of any longer carrying on a war, by ſaying he was unable to raiſe more taxes?

Parl. Reg. vol. vi. p. 373, 374.

Two months after, Mr. F—x, having been made Secretary of State, ſaid,

That wretched and miſerable as this country had been painted by gentlemen before they came into office, yet, to their aſtoniſhment, it was found worſe than they ever conceived it would be—he had attempted, on a former day, to point out to the Houſe the ſtate of our navy; weak and inadequate as it turned out to be, yet ſince that time he was come to the knowledge of facts, which ſhewed him that all his former ſuſpicions were poor and weak in proportion to the truth. Neither he, nor any man that acted with him, imagined that our navy was ſo reduced and impotent as they now found it was. *May* 10th. That, upon enquiry into the ſtate of our ſtrength, with relation to that of the enemy, it would be ſeen, that we were dreadfully inferior to them in every thing; in our marine inferior as ONE IS TO FOUR in the number of our ſhips; and in the army ſo much inferior to them, that we were hardly able to meet them in any corner of the world. That the people had been too long kept in the dark, and

blinded with reſpect to their ſituation. The miniſters had not dared to look their ſituation in the face, and they had ſtudiouſly concealed it from their country—

Parl. Reg. vol. vii. p. 102, 147.

☞ In order to ſhew how the reſources of an exhauſted country may be improved, and her navy increaſed under a VIRTUOUS MINISTRY, and an able Lord Admiral, I ſhall quote an extract from a ſpeech of the ſame gentleman, delivered about *ten months* after.

" I ſhall now take an opportunity of remarking ſome particulars, in anſwer to what has fallen from an honourable member (Mr. Keith Stewart) relative to the ſtate of our navy not being ſuch as to countenance the continuance of the war. He ſays, that the accounts of the relative ſtate of our navy are untrue; it neither was, nor is in that condition in which it was repreſented: it has been ſaid, that it was inadequate to the ſervices to which it was allotted in its ſeveral deſtinations; that ſome ſhips were foul, others rotten, and others not ſtored. But theſe are inſtances that can be adduced in every fleet; they are equally applicable to our enemies as to ourſelves. But the candid and fair ſtatement of the ſubject would be this. Can it be proved that our navy was inadequate in any ſervice on which it was diſpatched? Has there been any one offenſive or defenſive meaſure declined in conſequence of our navy being imcompetent to the duty? If this can be proved, then I ſhall moſt chearfully join thoſe who are now ſo forward in the praiſes of a peace, which appears to every man of common ſenſe the moſt diſgraceful and diſadvantageous of any this country can produce.

" And

" And now permit me to ſay, that this aſſertion is not only deſtitute of evidence and veracity, but even of common gratitude and candour. It has originated from thoſe who are known to be under the greateſt obligations to that noble and honourable character they are thus endeavouring to depreciate. But not to ſay any thing farther on this diſagreeable part of the ſubject, has it the leaſt ſupport from the compariſon of facts and circumſtances? Would the noble Lord (Lord Keppel) have been ſo ready to reſign his place becauſe he diſapproved of the peace, had he been ſenſible of our naval inability for war? Surely nothing can demonſtrate the falſhood and malice of this aſſertion ſo incontrovertibly, as the firſt Lord of the Admiralty having reſigned his employment. Had he not been confident of the condition of the fleet being adequate to every relative ſervice of war, he would have been ſenſible of the impropriety of oppoſing the peace. He muſt have ſeen the folly and danger of ſuch a conduct, from the knowledge of the deſtruction it might bring on the country, and the diſgrace it would conſequently bring upon himſelf."—

Parl. Reg. vol. ix. p. 331, 332.

Cheats of the Premier.

Nov. 28, 1781. Mr. B---KE ſaid, the addreſs propoſed was a deluſion, and he was not a little amazed to hear a learned Lord (the Lord Advocate) make it an argument that it could not be a deluſion, becauſe it was to laſt only a week: Good God! did the learned Lord know ſo little of the miniſter, as to imagine that the ſhortneſs of time, which a deluſion could exiſt, was any reaſon for his not practiſing it? The noble Lord dealt in cheats and deluſions. A week! the noble

Lord had often held out a cheat for half that time. For a day only! nay, for a ſingle hour! He had practiſed cheats upon the Houſe, which had died away before even the debate was ended, to favour which they were contrived. Had not that Houſe ſeen the noble Lord's cheat upon the ſubject of the conciliatory propoſitions? Had they not witneſſed his dexterity in laying down his own cheat on that occaſion, and adopting another, which he thought toplay off more advantageouſly? The noble Lord would continue to play off his cheats and deluſions on that Houſe ſo long as he thought it neceſſary, and as he had money enough at command to bribe gentlemen to pretend they believed him!

Parl. Reg. vol. v. p 59, 60.

Shuffling of the Premier.

Dec. 4, 1781. Mr. F---x attacked Lord N---th, with ſome warmth, and accuſed him of making the moſt *ſhuffling ſhuffle* that was ever attempted in the moſt *ſhuffling* times. With regard to the aſſertion made by the noble Lord, that this war did not differ from other wars, he wondered the noble Lord ſhould be ſo forgetful. Was not the management of the preſent war, was not the expence of the preſent war, and were not the events of the preſent war, different from all others?

Mr. B---KE wondered how the noble Lord *dared* to talk of Britiſh feelings. He! ſaid Mr. B---ke, He! dare talk of Britiſh feelings! He! that has ruined the Britiſh Empire and waſted its blood and treaſure!

Ibid. p. 95, 96.

PANEGYRIC

PANEGYRIC *on a Firſt Lord of the Admiralty.*

Mr. B--ke. June 1, 1783. Auguſtus, the Roman Emperor, was ſo affected with the loſs of his legions, that he even invoked the manes of their dead general to reſtore them back to him, *Vare, redde mihi legiones!* So might that houſe ſay to Lord S----h, *redde nobis nautas!* S----h! Give us back our ſeamen, our ſhips, our troops, our wealth, loſt by thy CURSED TREASONS.

O thou Earl of S—h, who waſt born to the curſe of thy country, who liveſt only to accumulate diſhonour on her head, to deſtroy her boaſted navy; reſtore, reſtore to us thoſe brave men who were thrown into chains by thy negligence, and remain in them by thy ſcandalous inhumanity.

Parl. Reg. vol. iii. p. 479.

How far a miniſter's word of honour may be taken.

March 20, 1782. Mr. F—x, finding that the houſe was in very great confuſion, thought that the beſt way to produce order was by moving, that Lord Surrey be heard to make his motion; and he thought this the more neceſſary, as the houſe could not place any confidence in the word of the miniſter; and therefore ought not to believe upon that word, that the King's miniſters were no more; the houſe ought to take care, and it had it in its power effectually to take care, that the miniſters ſhould be no more; a vote of that houſe would ſuffice; and whilſt they had it in their power to paſs ſuch a vote, they ought not to omit it.

Parl. Reg. vol. vi. p. 493.

CORRUPT

Corrupt Influence.

Mr. E——d B—-ke, in December 1772.

" This advantage I derive from old age, which I feel growing faſt upon me, that I have loſt the two dangerous paſſions in a public man, of indignation and ſurprize. I confeſs myſelf ſo accuſtomed to the diſorders and corruption, which ſurround me, that I am not ſurprized at any thing which can poſſibly happen. I have hitherto reſiſted that torrent of corruption, which threatened ruin to this country, and I hope God, in his infinite mercy, will ever protect me from it."

Almon's Parl. Deb. vol. x. p. 180.

Virtue in Danger.

The ſame gentleman, on the downfal of L—d N—h's adminiſtration in March, 1782, ſaid,

That government could exiſt only in two ways, by its purity, wiſdom and ſucceſs, which ſecured to it the love and reſpect of the virtuous and independent; or it muſt exiſt by the means of corruption, which brought to its aid the needy and the profligate: and as government muſt be ſupported—the independent men ought to take themſelves to blame, if they *forced* a virtuous adminiſtration to reſort to corruption.

Parl. Deb. 1782, vol. vi. p. 503.

Alſo on the ſecond reading of Mr. F—x's India bill, December 2, 1783, in the Houſe of Commons.

That no miniſter could ſtand without a majority in that houſe; and a ſufficient ſhare of influence ſhould always be in the power of the crown, to enable the government of the country to go on.

Arrogance

Arrogance of the Premier.

March 22, 1779. Mr. F—x ſaid, the arrogance of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon was unpardonable. His unreſerved contempt of the whole body of the people of England, without doors, was no leſs indecent than ungenerous—&c.

LORD N—TH, in return, charged Mr. F—x with falſhood and miſrepreſentation. He ſaid, that Mr. F—x's ſpeech called to his recollection thoſe charts he had ſeen of deſart and uninhabited countries, where the geographer is obliged to fill up the void ſpaces with the repreſentations of elephants and other wild beaſts: and his now giving notice that he would, after the holidays, conſolidate all his motions into one, brought ſtrongly, he ſaid, to his memory two lines of Pope:

Deſtroy his fib and ſophiſtry in vain,
The creature's at his dirty work again.

Parl. Reg. vol. xii. p. 230, 232.

Ignorance and falſhood of the Premier.

On the opening of the Seſſions in 1779,

Admiral K——l roſe, he ſaid, with indignation to reprobate the noble Lord's aſſertions, in the blue ribbon, reſpecting the protection given to our trade by the fleet under the command of Sir Charles Hardy. They were *falſe*, they were *impoſitions*, he affirmed, in every particular, and he was ready to prove it, if called upon. The language of the noble Lord was not the language of a ſeaman, or of any perſon who converſed with ſeamen. No ſeaman could bear to liſten to it, without giving to it the moſt unreſerved and unqualified contradiction.

Parl. Reg. vol. xvi. p. 23.

Impeachment

Impeachment of the Premier.

June 16, 1779. *Lord N—th* acquainted the houſe with the recal of our Ambaſſador at the Court of Spain, in conſequence of the Spaniſh Manifeſto.

Mr. B—ke harangued the houſe for ſome time, till he was called to order by the Speaker, who aſked him if he had any motion to make; if not, he could not ſuffer him to proceed.

Mr. B—ke ſaid, Sir, I could make a motion, the impeachment of the miniſter (pointing to Lord N—th) would be a very proper one———Mr. B---ke afterwards moved, that the houſe ſhould immediately form itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation.

After ſome debate, *Lord John C---v---h* roſe, and earneſtly ſolicited Mr. B---ke to withdraw his motion; for he was againſt having any motion before the houſe till the preſent miniſters were brought to puniſhment. As to himſelf, he hoped that he was thought a moderate man. He would expend his fortune and hazard his life againſt the natural enemies of his country, and he would do as much to bring miniſtry to their deſerts. The noble Lord again intreated Mr. B---ke to withdraw his motion; moſt paſſionately pointed out the miniſter as the author of our calamities, and finally declared that his reſentment ſhould be found FIRM AND LASTING.

Parl. Reg. vol. xiii. p. 422.

Abjurations of a Coalition.

March 4, 1782. Mr. F---x profeſſed that though he could not thank God for the calamities which had overtaken this unhappy land, in conſequence of the fatal ſyſtem by which the King and people

ple had been deluded, he ſtill conſidered it as beneficial, that the triumph of Wedneſday laſt (the vote againſt the American war) had not come ſooner. It had, coming as it did, compleatly and effectually deſtroyed corruption: its reign was at an end. If the conqueſt had come ſooner before we had been ſo inſtigated againſt a baneful ſyſtem of corruption, perhaps there might have been contrived *ſome paltry and inſignificant coalitions*, which would have made the ſyſtem more palatable.

Parl. Reg. vol. x. p. 357.

March 5, 1782. Mr. F---x had a propoſal to make to the miniſters. He would inform them for certain, that there were perſons now in Europe, who were fully empowered to treat for a peace between Great Britain and America; and though he believed they would not treat with the preſent miniſters, ſtill he would put them in a way to make peace; nay more, if they did not like to interfere in it themſelves, he would undertake to negotiate it for them.——Our affairs were ſo circumſtanced that *miniſters muſt loſe their places*, or the country muſt be undone: he would therefore let them enjoy thoſe emoluments which they held ſo dear, provided he could ſave his country: for this end he was willing to ſerve them in the buſineſs of peace, in any capacity, even as an under *commis* or meſſenger. But in ſo doing, he deſired it might be underſtood that he did not mean to have any connexion with them: from the moment he ſhould make any terms with one of them, he would reſt ſatisfied to be called the moſt infamous of mankind: he could not for an inſtant think of a COALITION with men, who, in every public and private tranſaction, as miniſters, had ſhewn themſelves void of every principle of honour and honeſty: in the hands of ſuch men he would not truſt his honour, even for a minute.

Lord N---th ſaid, the honourable member was kind enough to offer his ſervices in a negotiation: but he would not take any part with the preſent adminiſtration; and the reaſon he aſſigned was, that he could not truſt his honour in their hands for a moment that were without any principle of honour or honeſty: theſe were good and ſubſtantial reaſons, better certainly could not be aſſigned; and the ſame ſhould ſerve him againſt the honourable member. He would never employ a perſon who publicly declared, that he could not have confidence in him. *He was entitled to ſay juſt as much of that honourable gentleman*; and therefore *he* would not truſt *his* honour in the hands of that gentleman; and thinking of him as he did, he was determined not to employ him as his negotiator.

Parl. Reg. vol. vi. p. 366, 368.

☞ It muſt be obſerved that the altercations between Lord N—h and Mr. F---x, when the former was firſt Lord of the Treaſury and the latter in oppoſition, were by no means perſonal. Their differences purely aroſe on one grand political queſtion, viz. the expediency or inexpediency, the juſtice or injuſtice, of the American war; and not from the latter being turned out of the Treaſury by the former. If you will not take my word for this, hear the noble Lord himſelf.

RECANTATION.

" Many a time have I been vilified, and groſsly reprobated and abuſed, as every unfortunate miniſter will be. That honourable gentleman (Mr F---x) undoubtedly run me hard, and not unfrequently made me the butt of thoſe inexhauſtible powers of ridicule and aſperity, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh his eloquence. But however my official conduct might have been culpable for want of wiſdom and capacity, I hope I never merited cenſure as being deſtitute of zeal to promote what I then

I then conceived to be the true intereſts of Great Britain. And notwithſtanding that bold and decided manner in which the honourable gentleman eſpouſed a very different part from mine, it does not occur to my recollection *that he ever charged me with a direct want of integrity.* In the early part of that honourable gentleman's political career, when I had the happineſs to poſſeſs his confidence and friendſhip, I always found him open, manly and ſincere; I knew his temper to be warm, but his nature is generous; and at the ſame time that I admire the vaſt extent of his underſtanding, I can rely on the goodneſs of his heart for ſecurity. As an enemy, I have always found him formidable, and a perſon of moſt extraordinary talents to whatever miniſter he oppoſes. But in proportion as I had reaſon to dread him, while his principles were adverſe to mine, now they are congenial, we ſhall unite with one heart and one mind in the cauſe of our country, with the greater certainty of ſucceſs. And let me hail it as an auſpicious circumſtance in our country's favour, *that thoſe who were divided by her hoſtilities*, are cemented by her peace."

Debate on the peace, Parl. Reg. vol. ix. p. 355.

Monday, December 22, 1783, Lord N----H ſaid,

It had been conceived that a right honourable gentleman on the floor (Mr. F—x) intended to cram the India bill, under another name, down the throats of the Houſe of Lords. The honourable gentleman who had ſpoken laſt but one was miſtaken in calling him the right honourable ſecretary; for ſorry he was to ſay that, to the misfortune of this country, it was a name that no longer belonged to him. But, ſaid his lordſhip, " I will call him by a name, which I truſt will

ever belong to him, a name which it is my pride to boaſt of ſince I knew him beſt; I will call him by the name of my right honourable FRIEND! By that word I mean in future to deſcribe him, and I hope that by that name he will in future be known in the houſe."

——*Quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo*
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro!

☞ It has been long a matter of diſpute, whether a member of parliament ſhould vote according to his own ſentiments, or ſhould comply with the inſtructions of his conſtituents: Let us hear what Mr. F—x ſays on this ſubject.

Feb. 8, 1780. Mr. F---x. " I wiſh, with much anxiety, gentlemen would conſider what they are, when they ſit in that houſe. Inſignificant of themſelves, they derive their importance from the appointment of their conſtituents. It is the duty of members of parliament to conform to the ſentiments, and, in ſome degree, to the prejudices of the people. In their legiſlative capacity, the wiſhes, and wants of the people ought, in this land of liberty, to be their grand rule of conduct. Suppoſe the people ſhould be of opinion, that there is no longer any need of a very expenſive board of trade and plantations, when that trade and thoſe plantations, for the ſake of which the board was firſt eſtabliſhed, no longer exiſt, would it not be the noble lord's duty to ſacrifice his particular opinion to their's, and to act agreeably to their notions and inſtructions?

Parl. Reg. vol. xvii. p. 78.

Per contra.

On the occaſion of the debates relative to the tax on receipts, June 11th, 1783,

Mr.

Mr. F---x ſaid, he roſe with ſome difficulty, as he ſhould be compelled to ſpeak confeſſedly againſt the opinions of a very reſpectable part of his conſtituents; but it was a doctrine he had uniformly held, both in Weſtminſter-Hall and at Covent-Garden, that in that houſe he was to ſpeak his own ſentiments; if they coincided with thoſe of his conſtituents he ſhould be the more happy---&c.

Parl. Reg. vol. x. p. 139.

OECONOMICAL REFORM.

The reader may remember, that Mr. B—ke when in oppoſition, brought in a very comprehenſive plan for a reform of the public expenditure. This was not intended merely to diſtreſs the miniſter; which we may be aſſured of, when we conſider, that he introduced and carried a *good part of it*, after his friends came into power. If he did not, when he was able, attempt to carry the whole, we muſt conclude he found affairs not ripe for a reformation; and when he ſpoke as follows, whatever may be thought of it, we may be ſure he made no alluſion to himſelf.

May 10, 1781. Mr. B—ke ridiculed the whole ſcheme and ſhadow of reform. For this the ſubſtantial plan of reformation of laſt year had been rejected; for this the noble Lord himſelf, (Lord N—h) had oppoſed the bill which he had the honour to move in that houſe; for this he had turned a deaf ear to the bill, which was introduced, and now contented himſelf with taking little inconſiderable portions of it, and bringing them forward as ſubjects of parliamentary attention. He had broken the comprehenſive plan into fritters, and now preſented them one by one as ſops to deceive,

not

not as ſubſtantial feaſts to ſatisfy, the national deſire. A full harveſt of œconomy had been offered to the Houſe. This the noble Lord had rejected. He had himſelf promiſed a crop; and now that it had come to the time of reaping, he went about picking up the leavings of the harveſt. Seducing the people with a proſpect of ſomething ſolid, he gave a whiff with his mouth, and blew them into chaff.

Parl. Reg. vol. iii. p. 290, 291.

☞ QUERY. *By whom were Lord N---h, Lord St---t and Lord C----le brought into the cabinet?*

Lord Shel---ne was ſuſpected of the intention, and Mr. F---x could not help giving way to his manly indignation, in reprobating the idea.—— For,

On the debate which took place, July 9, 1782, relative to the reſignation of Mr. Fox, Lord J. C---v---h, &c. Mr F---x ſaid,

The country had now an adminiſtration, which could not be that popular adminiſtration to which his honourable friend (Gen. Conway) had alluded; it was now the adminiſtration of a man who could not think of reformation with temper, however loudly he might ſpeak about it. The principles of the *late miniſtry* were now in the cabinet; *and the next thing he ſhould look for, would be to ſee the late miniſters themſelves in office.* But perhaps it would be ſaid that he was too apprehenſive, and that his ſuſpicions were vague; perhaps they were ſo---it would, however, be acknowledged to him, that thinking conſcientiouſly that he ſaw SUCH DANGER, it was fit for him to come forward and warn his country in time.

Afterwards, he ſaid, in explanation, that, with reſpect to the fear of letting in the old adminiſtration, there was none: for that houſe would not ſuffer

ſuffer it; the people of England would not ſuffer it; indeed, no man, he believed, would attempt it.

Parl. Reg. vol. vi. p. 306, 317.

Mr. F---x on majorities of the Houſe of Commons.

"The noble lord (Lord N---th) had ſaid, that he never would, nor ſhould any man preſume to act in contradiction to the voice of the majority of that houſe; nor dare to call it in queſtion, or abuſe it in any ſhape. For his own part, he muſt claim to himſelf the right of declaring his opinion freely and fully of the conduct of parliament in diſcharge of his own conſcience, and of his duty. When majorities acted wrong, in his opinion, he would, both within that houſe and out of it, declare his diſapprobation of their conduct."

Parl. Reg. vol. vi. p. 354.

Vide ſome late debates---particularly the charges made againſt Mr. P---tt.

Mr. F---x on Crown Influence.

In the committee on the bill for regulating certain offices in the Exchequer, July 4, 1783.

Mr. F---x ſupported the bill, which he allowed would add ſome influence to the crown. That with regard to the influence of the crown, much as he was an enemy to any undue influence, he was convinced that it was impoſſible for the government of a great country to go on, unleſs it had certain lucrative and honourable ſituations to beſtow on its officers in a peculiar line, as a proviſion for their families, and a reward for their eminent and diſtinguiſhed ſervices. As a bill of influence, the preſent, undoubtedly, gave the crown ſome influence---&c.

Parl. Reg. vol. x. p. 272, 273.

Vide ſupra, p.

Mr.

Mr. F---x in ſupport of the RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

Feb. 11, 1773. A paper having appeared in the Public Advertiſer of this day, charging the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons with injuſtice and partiality, Mr. *Herbert* moved, " that the printer of the paper be brought before the Houſe.

Sir *Joſeph Mawbey* diſſented from the motion.

Mr. Ch---s F---x, then a Lord of the Treaſury, ſaid, in ſupport of the motion, Was any member of that Houſe, much more the Speaker, to be libelled in ſo groſs a manner, and be obliged to *deſcend to a law-ſuit?* He ſaid, becauſe they had been ſo favourable to the printers the laſt time, they imagined they had a right to libel any member; and if printers were ſuffered to go on at this rate, they would next claim, as one of their privileges, the right of libelling whom they pleaſed, " that we were now warm in the matter, and therefore it was the propereſt time to diſcuſs and go through with it."

Mr. F---x ſaid, he was not againſt ſhewing lenity to any man; but to a perſon who had been proved guilty of ſuch an atrocious crime, he thought committing to the Serjeant at Arms was not ſufficient; he ſhould therefore move, that he be committed to Newgate.---

Almon's Parl. Deb. vol. ix. p. 20 & 27.

Lord N---th and Mr. F---x on ARISTOCRACY.

July 2, 1779. The militia bill being returned from the Lords, materially altered, gave riſe to a debate concerning privilege.---

Mr. F---x deſired to know, why miniſters had not conſulted the Lord Lieutenants of counties reſpecting it, before they propoſed it to Parliament; and

and ſaid, if the idea of contemning ariſtocracy had prevailed ſo far, as to prevent ſuch a neceſſary conſultation from taking place, it was a futile and improper objection.---

Lord N---th ſaid, the honourable gentleman had reſted a conſiderable degree of the blame, which he had aſcribed to him, upon the charge of his deſpiſing the ariſtocratic power, and thence neglecting to conſult the Lord Lieutenants, before he ſuggeſted it to Parliament. The burthen of the meaſure would reſt----where? Not on the ariſtocracy, but on the body of the people. Ought he then, as a member of that Houſe, and one of the repreſentatives of the Commons of England, before he ſuggeſted the meaſure to the Commons themſelves, to go and aſk the opinion of ſuch of the Lords as happened to be Lieutenants of counties? He thought he ſhould have degraded himſelf, and inſulted that Houſe, if he had ever taken any ſuch ſtep.

Parl. Reg. vol. xiii. p. 544, 5, 6. 7.

See ſome late debates and ſpeeches of Mr. *Charles James Proteus* in the Houſe of Commons, at the Shakeſpeare, &c.

Credite poſteri!

PROPHETIC GENIUS *of Mr. B---ke and Mr. F---x:* Firſt in a

Picture of Coalition Friendſhip.

May 14, 1781. Mr. B---ke.—" It was always the concluſion of every harangue, whatever was the beginning; when argument was exhauſted, when evaſion failed; when law had no more quibbles to confound, nor eloquence to confuſe; 'Oh, ſave the noble Lord!' is ſtill the laſt. He truſted that this argument would not always prevail; when it came to this ſhort iſſue, whether

we muſt part with the miniſter or the empire; and *he believed, that we did not want much in our journey to that period, when the noble Lord in the blue ribbon would have a woeful proof of the inſtability of that friendſhip, which is founded in intereſt, begun without eſteem, and continued without affection.*"

Parl. Reg. 1781, vol. iii. p. 340.

Last Dying Speech and Confession of the COALITION.

Nov. 6, 1780, Mr. F---x recurred to the famous vote of the late Parliament, relative to the influence of the crown, and ſaid it was the laſt dying ſpeech of that corrupt aſſembly---the death-bed confeſſion of that wicked ſinner; and it reminded him of *the death-bed confeſſion of other abandoned profligates*, who, after having heaped guilt on guilt, juſt before they parted with their laſt breath, ſent for a prieſt, and made confeſſion of their manifold ſins and tranſgreſſions, ſaying, "Although our gang ſtood ſo firm together, and all agreed in ſtiffly denying the many atrocious facts we committed, particularly our greateſt crime, and moſt miſchievous offence, it is very true we were guilty, and we hope our fate will prove a warning to thoſe we leave behind us, and induce them to lead better lives, and not by following the ſame bad courſes, which we have purſued, come to the ſame premature and miſerable end."

Parl. Reg. 1780, vol. i. p. 46.

*** It is to be obſerved, that the Parliamentary Regiſter, quoted in this Pamphlet, is that publiſhed by *Debrett (ſucceſſor to Almon)* in Piccadilly.

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